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THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

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(Continued.)

XVIII. NORMAN MACLEOD succeeded his brother Roderick, who in 1699 died without issue. A few years after, in 1703, Martin published his "Description of the Western Isles." Writing of the people of Skye, he says that "they are generally a very sagacious people, and even the vulgar exceed all those of their rank and education I ever yet saw in any other country. They have a great genius for music and mechanics. I have observed several of their children that before they could speak were capable to distinguish and make choice of one tune before another; for they appeared always uneasy until the tune they fancied best was played, and then they expressed their satisfaction by the motions of their heads and hands. There are several of them who invent tunes very taking in the South of Scotland and elsewhere." He then goes on to tell us that musicians tried to palm themselves off in many instances as the authors of these tunes, changing their names and adopting other means of disguise, but in this they usually failed, for, our author continues, "whatever languages gives the modern name, the tune still continues to speak its true original." Some of the natives, he says, "were very dexterous in engraving trees, birds, dogs, etc., upon bone and horn, or wood, without any other tool than a sharp pointed knife." Both sexes

had "a quick vein of poesy," and they composed pieces which "powerfully affect the fancy," and "with as great force as that of any ancient and modern poet" he ever read, but "the unhappiness of their education, and their want of converse with foreign nations deprive them of the opportunity to cultivate and beautify their genius, which seems to have been formed by nature for great attainments." They were "happily ignorant of many vices that are practised in the learned and polite worlds," of several of which they did not even know the name, or had the slightest knowledge of them.

Their diet consisted generally of fresh food, and they seldom tasted anything salted, except butter. They ate but little flesh, only persons of distinction eating it every day and having three meals, the common people eating only two meals per day. "Their ordinary diet is butter, cheese, milk, colworts, brochan, *i.e.*, oatmeal and water boiled. The latter, taken with some bread, is the constant food of several thousands of both sexes in this and other Isles during the winter and spring; yet they undergo many fatigues both by sea and land, and are very healthful." There was "no place so well stored with such great quantity of good beef and mutton, where so little is consumed by eating." They had plenty exercise and air, preserving "their bodies and minds in a regular frame, free from the various convulsions that ordinarily attend luxury. There is not one of them too corpulent or too meagre" and they took "no fine sauces to entice a false appetite, nor brandy or tea for disgestion, the purest water" serving them in such cases.

The same author gives the following most interesting account of the dress of the Islanders at this period:—The first habit wore by persons of distinction was the leni-croich, from the Irish [Gaelic] leni, which signifies a shirt, and croach saffron, because their shirt was dyed with that herb. The ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four. It was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle; but the Islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago. They now generally use coat, waistcoat, and breeches, as elsewhere; and on their heads wear bonnets made of thick cloth—some blue, some black, and some grey. Many of the people wear trews. Some have them very fine woven like stockings of

those made of cloth. Some are coloured and others striped. The latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the trews is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger and half a finger, so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit. The shoes anciently worn were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot, so that what is for one foot will not serve the other. But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the South of Scotland. The plaid wore only by the men is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind. It consists of divers colours; and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells. The one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other, going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also—the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do anything upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able at the first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence. When they travel a-foot, the plaid is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood (just as the spina worn by the Germans, according to the description of C. Tacitus). The plaid is tied round the middle with a leather belt. It is plaited from the belt to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trews. The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called arisad, is a white plaid, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red. It reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or

brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of a hundred marks value. It was broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraved with various animals, etc. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size. The plaid being plaited all round, was tied with a belt below the breast. The belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven, the end of which was adorned with fine stones or pieces of red coral. The cone sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine linen kerchief strait about the head, hanging down the back taper-wise. A large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands. The islanders have a great respect for their chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal with a petition to God for their welfare and prosperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, suffer them to sink under any misfortune; but in case of a decay of estate, make a voluntary contribution on their behalf, as a common duty to support the credit of their families.*

Simon Lord Lovat in 1699 erected a monument in the church-yard of Kilmuir, Durinish, to his father, Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, who died at Dunvegan while on a visit to his wife's relations, in May of that year, only three months before the death of Roderick Macleod of Macleod, treated of in our last. The monument, which is of freestone, is still standing, but thirty-five or forty years ago the white marble which contained the inscription fell out and was broken in fragments. The inscription was as follows:—"This pyramid was erected by Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat in honour of Lord Thomas, his father, a peer of Scotland, and Chief of the great and ancient Clan of the Frasers. Being attacked for his birthright by the family of Athole, then in power and favor with King William, yet, by the valour and fidelity of

* *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, by Martin Martin, gentleman.

his Clan, and the assistance of the Campbells, the old friends and allies of his family, he defended his birthright with such greatness and firmity of soul, and such valour and activity, that he was an honour to his name, and a good pattern to all brave chiefs of clans. He died in the month of May, 1699, in the 63d year of his age, in Dunvegan, the house of the Laird of Macleod, whose sister he had married; by whom he had the above Simon Lord Fraser, and several other children. And, for the great love he bore the family of Macleod, he desired to be buried near his wife's relations, in the place where two of her uncles lay. And his son, Lord Simon, to show to posterity his great affection for his mother's kindred, the brave Macleods, chooses rather to leave his father's bones with them than carry them to his own burial place near Lovat."

About this time there lived in Skye, about two miles south of the village of Portree, a celebrated man known as Aodh or Hugh Macqueen. From his great stature and intellectual superiority, he was known in Gaelic as Aodh *Mor* MacCuinn. He was distinguished for his integrity and sound judgment, and, generally speaking, when any questions of difficulty arose between the tenants and their proprietors, or among themselves, he was resorted to as arbitrator, when his decisions were usually accepted as final. On one occasion two of Macleod's tenants came to him to decide a dispute which had arisen between them. One of them had a cow, which, slipping over a precipice by the sea, fell into the other man's boat, which was moored at the foot of the rock, stove a hole in it, and was itself killed. The owner of the boat claimed damages for the injury to his property, while the owner of the cow denied liability, and pleaded that if the boat had not been there, his cow might not have been killed, for it would have fallen into the sea. Macleod himself, to whom the case was first referred, had some difficulty in deciding it, so he advised them to consult Aodh, to whose house he accompanied them. The dispute being laid fully before Aodh, he asked whose property the cow was, to which the owner replied that it was his. Aodh then asked whose was the boat, and received a similar reply from the other man. "And whose was the rock?" said Aodh. "Macleod's" was the answer. "Then," said Aodh, "it appears to me

that the accident would not have happened were it not for the rock, and I therefore decide that Macleod shall pay the owners the price of both the boat and the cow." Macleod who was better able to pay than either of his tenants, at once complied with Aodh's decision, and paid the value of both boat and cow.

On another occasion, two men were fishing from a rock near Portree on a very stormy day. An extra high wave carried one of them off his seat into the sea, and the other was only able to reach his drowning companion with his fishing line, the hook of which fixed in his eye. By this means he was hauled ashore, but he lost the use of his eye in consequence. Happening some time after to quarrel with his deliverer, he demanded damages from him for the loss of his eye. The novel dispute was referred to Aodh, who promptly ruled that, whenever there was a storm equal to the one during which the accident took place, the pursuer should go into the sea again at the same place, and, if he gained the shore without any assistance, the defender would then be found liable in damages for the loss of the eye. The pursuer, however, did not quite see the propriety of this course, and nothing more was heard of his claim against the man who had saved him from a watery grave.

Macleod married in September, 1703, Anne Fraser, second daughter of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, by Lady Amilia Murray, daughter of John, Marquis of Athole. She married, secondly, Peter Fotheringham of Powrie, with issue; and, thirdly, John, second Earl of Cromarty, also with issue. By her Roderick Macleod had issue—one son, Norman, born after his father's death, and by whom he was succeeded in the estates of the family and as Chief of the Clan.

(To be continued.)



A GREAT UNKNOWN SCOT.

THE mother-spirit of the modern world is the printing press. Without it the civilisation kindled in Italy from the old Greek and Hebrew fires would have gone out or sunk to the thinnest flame, like the hundred civilisations that before had come and gone, if the Germans, ever thoughtful and intent to save, had not made for it a lamp that cannot break and cannot be lost—the lamp of printing. This spirit had offspring, two children, one rough, boisterous, strong, and terrible as the winter winds, and men called the young giant Steam; the other, fine, subtle, delicate as the light of heaven, and its name is Electricity. But these great spirits needed education. Masters must teach them to obey the will and wish of man. Such a master was James Watt. He took in hand the young giant of steam, he waited and he watched by it, he guided and he trained it, until, from a rough and dangerous barbarian, he made it the wondrous and harmonious worker that it is. Would it not be strange if one born in the same town as Watt, about the same time, had brought out of electricity its fine qualities that enable it to abolish distance? This is what actually was done by a fellow-townsmen and contemporary of James Watt. To drop all metaphor, in this case so enticing, Charles Morison, a native of Greenock, did, in the middle of last century, discover the principle of the electric telegraph, and did construct an instrument by which messages were conveyed from place to place.

Were not the evidence, as we shall show, too plain to be mistaken, I should much incline to doubt it. Whenever anybody discovers anything, half a dozen envious spirits are ready to flood every newspaper with columns of controversial matter to the effect that he did not discover it but stole it. If you found out a way to make gold from brass, or statesmen from demagogues, you would be told that it was all set down in papers that your grandfather most unlawfully took it from some one else's grandfather,

and that you had no more right to be called a discoverer than you had to be called Emperor of China. That is human nature. But here the facts are simple, clear, and past dispute. Years before the discovery is claimed for any other man, Charles Morison knew that subtle process by which thought flashes round the earth almost with thought's own swiftness.

In the early part of last century electricity was a toy, a pet of the study. Men no more dreamed of what it could do than they might dream that a pink morsel of baby-humanity would grow into a Napoleon and cover Europe with graves. In 1736, James Watt came into the world that he was to turn upside down. It is probable that Charles Morison was born not far from the same time. Think of it. Greenock was then a cleanly, sleepy, little place. Even Glasgow was hardly bigger than a market town of to-day. Into the Greenock streets came the hardy Highlanders to traffic, and—it must be confessed—to spoil the Saxon as completely as they could. Prince Charlie had not yet made his desperate struggle for his father's throne. Here in this quiet place, with its steady-going, decent people, more intent upon some venture to the Indies than upon all the politics that agitated far-off London, were born, and grew, and had their training in the world's work, two youths, each of whom had in his mind ideas the full extent and vast influence of which they themselves could as little dream as the Virgin-mother with the Holy Infant in her womb could foresee Christian Europe. Did they ever meet? Perhaps they went to school together, perhaps heard the same long sermon in the Parish Church, perhaps bright eyes long gone out, sweet lips long since ashes, gleamed and smiled with simple coquetry on both. Perhaps—but we must stop. The speculation is too romantic, too fascinating. They must have met, probably they have spoken. Whether they interchanged ideas is profitless to discuss. A great mind self-centred, self-absorbed, is not so apt to detect greatness in others as the hero-worshipping public would love to think. In 1753 Charles Morison was living in Renfrew, and had already found out his great world-changing fact. The *Scots Magazine* of that year contained the following letter, the extreme interest of which warrants us in publishing it without abbreviation :—

AN EXPEDITIOUS METHOD OF CONVEYING INTELLIGENCE BY
MEANS OF ELECTRICITY.

Renfrew, Feb. 1, 1753.

To the author of the *Scots Magazine*—

Sir,—It is well known to all who are conversant with electrical experiments, that the electric power may be propagated along a small wire, from one place to another, without being sensibly abated by the length of its progress. Let then a set of wires, equal in number to the letters of the alphabet, be extended horizontally between two given places parallel to one another, and each of them about an inch distant from that next to it. At every twenty yards end, let them be fixed in glass, or jeweller's cement, to some firm body, both to prevent them from touching the earth or any other non-electric, and from breaking by their own gravity. Let the electric gun barrel be placed at right angles with the extremities of the wires, and about an inch below them. Also let the wires be fixed on a solid piece of glass, at six inches from the end; and let that part of them which reaches from the glass to the machine, have sufficient spring and stiffness to recover its situation after having been brought in contact with the barrel. Close by the supporting glass, let a ball be suspended from every wire; and about a sixth or an eighth of an inch below the balls place the letters of the alphabet, marked on bits of paper, or any other substance that may be light enough to rise to the electrified ball; and at the same time let it be so contrived, that each of them may reassume its proper place when dropt. All things constructed as above, and the minute previously fixed, I begin the conversation with my distant friend in this manner. Having set the electrical machine a-going as in ordinary experiments, suppose I am to pronounce the word *Sir*; with a piece of glass or any other *electric per se*, I strike the wire *S*, so as to bring it in contact with the barrel, then *i*, then *r*, all in the same way; and my correspondent, almost in the same instant, observes these several characters rise in order to the electrified balls at his end of the wires. Thus I spell away as long as I think fit; and my correspondent, for the sake of memory, writes the characters as they rise, and may join and read them afterwards as often as he inclines. Upon a signal given, or from choice, I stop the machine; and taking up the pen in my turn, I write down whatever my friend at the other end strikes out.

If anybody should think this way tiresome, let him, instead of the balls, suspend a range of bells from the roof, equal in number to the letters of the alphabet; gradually decreasing in size from the bell *A* to *Z*: and from the horizontal wires, let there be another set reaching to the several bells; one, *viz.*, from the hori-

zontal wire *B* to the bell *B*, &c. Then let him who begins the discourse bring the wires in contact with the barrel, as before; and the electrical spark, breathing on bells of different size, will inform his correspondent by the sound what wires have been touched. And thus, by some practice, they may come to understand the language of the chimes in whole words, without being put to the trouble of noting down every letter.

The same thing may be otherwise effected. Let the balls be suspended over the characters as before, but instead of bringing the ends of the horizontal wires in contact with the barrel, let a second set reach from the electrified cake, so as to be in contact with the horizontal ones; and let it be so contrived at the same time, that any of them may be removed from its corresponding horizontal by the slightest touch, and may bring itself again into contact when left at liberty. This may be done by the help of a small spring and slider, or twenty other methods, which the least ingenuity will discover. In this way, the characters will always adhere to the balls, excepting when any one of the secondaries is removed from contact with its horizontal; and then the letter at the other end of the horizontal will immediately drop from its ball. But I mention this only by way of variety.

Some may perhaps think that although the electric fire has not been observed to diminish sensibly in its progress through any length of wire that has been tried hitherto; yet as that has never exceeded some thirty or forty yards, it may be reasonably supposed, that in a greater length it would be remarkably diminished and probably would be entirely drained off in a few miles by the surrounding air. To prevent the objection, and save longer argument, lay over the wires from one end to the other with a thin coat of jeweller's cement. This may be done for a trifle of additional expense; and as it is an *electric per se*, will effectually secure any part of the fire from mixing with the atmosphere.—I am, &c.,

C. M.

Is it not wonderful? Here *is* the electric telegraph. In 1753 this Greenock man, Charles Morison, had, and used that which, even in 1886, we regard as a marvel surpassing all other marvels. We have developed and improved it, but we have done no more. The same principle is still applied in the same way. Unfortunately this man, Charles Morison, does not seem to have had that intense power which generally accompanies invention, the power of impressing ideas upon other people. That he could lucidly and completely write down his thoughts, appears by his letter, which is remarkably clear and even elegant in expression.

But having written this letter, having sown, as it were, his idea in the *Scots Magazine*, he left the matter to time, chance, and his ideas surpassing worth. No Boulton was at hand to take it up and to translate it even then into a world-encircling net-work of nerve-like wires. Twenty-one years later Lesage, in Geneva, by means of twenty four wires, conveyed messages from place to place, and then Europe became too much engrossed in revolution for such a useful invention to reach early maturity.

In 1859 Sir David Brewster disinterred this long forgotten letter from the *Scots Magazine*, and republished it in the *North British Review*. In his remarks upon the letter he says—"Here we have an electric telegraph upwards of a hundred years old, which at the present day would convey intelligence expeditiously, and we are constrained to admit that C. M. was the inventor of the electric telegraph Everything done since is only improvement."

But who was C. M.? From modesty or other reasons Charles Morison had only signed his initials. Sir David Brewster was in the dark. At last light came in letters now fully given to the world for the first time. These letters, after the death of Sir David, were found among his correspondence by C. Brewster Macpherson, Esq. of Belleville House, Kingussie, and by him generously presented to the Watt Library, Greenock. Here they are, and very interesting is the story they tell:—

Port-Glasgow, 31st October, 1859.

Sir,—Having the other evening been reading a portion of the *North British Review*, vol. 22, p. 545, regarding the invention of the Electric Telegraph, and having by mere chance come upon the passage which says, "It was reserved for a Scotchman, a gentleman residing in Renfrew, to suggest the idea of transmitting messages by Electricity along wires passing from one place to another. The remarkable proposal was published in the *Scots Magazine* for February, 1753, in an article bearing the initials 'C. M.,' the only name which we shall ever probably obtain for the first inventor of the Electric Telegraph"—a friend of mine at present living with me here, on being shewn the passage, and thinking for a minute, told me he could solve the mystery regarding the gentleman in question, with the view of sending the same to you, presuming that you were the writer of the article referred to, or connected with the publishing of the *North British Review*. He

stated that in a letter which his great grandfather had written to Margaret Wingate, Craigengilte, near Denny, in the year 1752, which letter he recollects having seen, and which he believes is still in preservation, his great grandfather describes having seen a gentleman in Renfrew, of the name of Charles Morrison, who was a native of Greenock, and was a bred surgeon, but it is a question whether he ever practised his profession, as it was known he was sometime connected with the tobacco trade in Glasgow. It is presumed he had not continued very long at the business of dealing in tobacco, but had made the study of finding out this noble science his daily theme. The people of that age were so superstitious that they believed Mr. Morrison was *crazy*, and that the *Devil was acting in concert with him*, and my friend's grandfather and grandmother also thought so, and all who heard or saw him transmitting intelligence along wires by invisible means, were actually persuaded that the man was assisted by some supernatural being. From what my friend can remember of hearing, it is thought that Mr. Morrison had to leave Renfrew, in consequence of the superstitious notions of the age. Mr. Morrison did leave Renfrew, whether from this cause or not he cannot affirm, and went to Virginia, U.S., where he afterwards died.

My friend remembers perfectly well when a boy of his grandfather coming to his father's house, and telling all sorts of stories about the gentleman in Renfrew, who could transmit messages along wires, and what the general opinion was regarding him. The subject being new and interesting, caused him to listen to it with greater attention, and this is the reason he says why he recollects so well about Mr. M. at the present day.

Perhaps I am only troubling you with this long epistle for no use, as you may ere now have obtained from some one else a better history of Mr. M.'s pedigree.

My friend advised me to send the above information as an article for publication in the newspapers, but I thought it would be better to send the same first to you, and probably you might inform me if you had not already been favoured with the intelligence, and advise whether you would wish to publish the same yourself.

If you desire any further particulars regarding Mr. Morrison, I shall be happy to be at your service, and endeavour to obtain anything you may suggest.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient faithful humble Servant,

R. H. LOUDAN,

At ALEX. LADE, Esqr.'s.

Answd. Nov. 2, 1856. (Jotting by Sir David Brewster.)

Wrote again, Jan. 2, 1860. (Jotting by Sir David Brewster.)

Port-Glasgow, 4th January, 1860.

Sir D. Brewster, St. Andrews.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant, and, in answer, beg to state that my friend, Mr. Foreman, has been endeavouring to get the letter written by his grandfather, but as yet he has not been successful. It appears the above letter, among others, are in the custody of an aunt, who lives in a small village in Perthshire. He wrote about the middle of November last to make a search for the letter, and to send it, or a copy thereof, but she wrote back saying she had not been able to find it. Mr. Foreman then stated that he would, perhaps, go and pay her a visit about the New Year, when he would make a search himself, but circumstances having prevented him from going, nothing farther has been done. He has again written today to his aunt to renew her search, as it is possible she, being an old woman, might not know it, although she laid her hands on it. For these reasons I have delayed writing you in answer to yours of the 2nd November. So soon as a reply comes, I shall again write you, either with the letter or the statement you refer to. I would like very much the letter could be got, as it would at once settle a matter of great importance to Scotland.

I am,

Yours respectfully,

R. H. LOUDAN.

Port-Glasgow, 30th January, 1860.

Sir David Brewster, St. Andrews.

Sir,—In reference to my letter of the 4th instant, I now beg to send you annexed a statement by my friend, Mr. Foreman, regarding Mr. Charles Morrison. So far as he recollects he can vouch for the truth of what is therein contained. I am sorry he has not been able to get either of the letters therein referred to. His aunt being a very old and frail person, and not considering the importance of the letters, I suppose cannot be fashed to make a search for them. Mr. F. has written her twice, and the only answer he has got was that she has not been very well, and if he wanted the letters in question, he should come himself and look for them. He says that she looks upon all the old papers and books as great relics, and would not part or lend any of them to any one upon any account whatever.

My friend has not the means, I know, else I believe he would go himself, as he appears very anxious that the matter could be solved. He says that he hopes we wont be beat, as he

intends ere long of going himself, and making a search if the annexed does not suffice. Trusting that the annexed particulars may answer the object you have in view in the meantime,

I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

R. H. LOUDAN.

In answer to your enquiries respecting Charles Morrison, I now beg to inform you that I recollect of having seen a letter about 30 years ago addressed by my great grandfather, Mr. Foreman, farmer, Blackdhu, near Stirling, in Perthshire, to Miss Margate Wingate, residing at Craigengelt, near Denny (to whom he was subsequently married), and which I now fully believe was dated in 1750 (instead of 1752, as I lately stated to you), referring to a gentleman in Renfrew who transmitted messages along wires short distances by means of electricity. His letter gave the gentleman's name as Charles Morrison, and described him as being a *very bashful and eccentric individual*, a native of Greenock, and bred a surgeon. I also recollect of having seen and read a letter in the handwriting of this same Charles Morrison (it being signed by him), addressed to Mr. Foreman, dated 25th September, 1752, giving a detail of his experiments in sending messages along wires by means of electricity, and stating that he had sent a description of the same to Sir Hans Sloan in London, by whom he was encouraged to perfect his experiments, and that he intended giving him a more detailed account in the following year, 1753, when he hoped also to be able to publish a minute narration thereof in the *Scots Magazine*. His letter also stated Sir Hans Sloan at that time was an aged man, and very frail, and that it would probably be about the month of May, 1753, before he could comply with the requirements of Sir Hans; but Mr. Morrison appears to have been able to comply sooner than he expected, as the letter is dated February in the *Scots Magazine*. It also stated that as he was likely to be ridiculed by many of his own acquaintances, and as it was a thing the great world cared little about, he would only publish his initials. What causes me to recollect the date 25th September, of the above letter at this day is, that I was born on that day and month.

The letters above referred to I believe are still in preservation, and if I had an opportunity I would go myself and make a search for them. They are in the possession of an aunt of mine who resides near Stirling. If they have been destroyed it must have been within the last few years, as I know she had them lying in a garret among a great number of other old papers and books.

I forgot to say that there are descendants of Margt. Wingate

above referred to, of that name, who are shawl manufacturers in Glasgow, and I have no doubt if they were communicated with they might in some way or other verify the truth of the above statements.

D. W. FORMAN.

And this is all we know of the great man who first found out the great idea of electric thought-communication. He was "very bashful and eccentric," crazy, devil-aided, a surgeon who never practiced surgery. We can well believe the last. Who would trust the cure of his body to a man who professed to be able to do such dreadful things? He was either a rank impostor, or — imagination shuddered to think what. One may readily imagine the trembling mother drawing her brood around her and looking upon the unhappy person with wrath and suspicion, who ventured to suggest that the demon-doctor should be sent for to look at her poor sick baby. Was it not a condition of the fiend that once a year a child should be offered at the devil's sacrament? Poor "bashful and eccentric" Morison. Readers smile sadly to think of him with his idea, shyly shuffling along, while the parish minister perchance stopped him to give him solemn warning; while the wise, common-sense spirits, too well taught to believe either in the old or the new, tittered as he passed, and made jests which, witty or no, received tremendous applause. The poet of the place made verses about him, no doubt, and when the minister preached about the Witch of Endor every eye in the church was turned upon him. At last, tired of it all, he went away; he emigrated to the United States. Search is being made in Virginia to see if he has left any traces there. We doubt if the searchers will succeed. A man of his nature, if he makes an effort and fails, rarely tries again. Probably his invention made his life in Scotland so intolerable to him that he would ever afterwards seek to bury himself and it from human investigation. Scotland, in 1753, to a "very bashful and eccentric" man, with a great idea, must have seemed a very considerable distance from heaven. At any rate, that is all *we* know about him. These few stray lights fall upon what was certainly a great and strange, and was probably a lonely and lovely nature. We would fain know more. Scotsmen throughout the world must look with reverence upon this brother Scot, whose name should be placed

high on the long roll of their illustrious dead. It may be that written or oral tradition of him lingers hidden, dusty, and dim in manuscript or memory. If such there be, and these lines meet the eye of anyone in whose mind is the slightest hint of these hid treasures, we earnestly entreat him to search diligently until he find them, and to communicate with Allan Park Paton, Esq., the learned and well-known librarian of the Greenock Library. This gentleman—the editor of that *Hamnet Shakespeare*, so much regarded by actors and students, and so well appreciated by the general public—has set himself with characteristic zeal to rescue Morison's name from the waters of oblivion that seem well nigh to have overcome it; for, in the above article of Sir David Brewster, and a passing allusion of Mr. Tyndal, is summed up all the honour that has been paid to his memory. In a glass frame, hung upon the walls of the noble Greenock Library, Mr. Paton has, very lately, placed all that has been written about this great unknown. Surely the people of Greenock will come to his help. What a noble boast it would be of any town to be able to take strangers and to point out to them two great monuments, placed side by side, saying, "By the thoughts of these two men has the whole modern world been more changed than in all the ten thousand years of old history. These two sons of Greenock, born on this shore, bred beside these hills, nurtured in our schools, mastered the two giant powers of steam and electricity, and tamed them to obey man more perfectly than ever plantation slave obeyed his master." Greenock people should insist that henceforth their town be known as the birthplace of James Watt and Charles Morison.

Greenock.

W. J. DOUGLAS.



THE CELTIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

REPLY BY REV. ÆNEAS CHISHOLM TO PROVOST MACANDREW.

I DID not intend to take any notice of Provost Macandrew's last rejoinder to mine on the Celtic Church, because I considered that he had not upset my arguments in one single point, much less that he had maintained his own position. It was not my ambition to chant a pæan of victory over a personal opponent, but to "give evidence of the faith that is in me," and to let the public judge between us. I find, however, that my silence has been misinterpreted, and I am compelled to take the field again, so as to establish my position still more convincingly.

To begin then—Let us see how we stand. We are agreed as to one very important point in this controversy, viz., that the Church in Ireland, established by St. Patrick, acknowledged the authority of the Church of Rome, and that the Church of Scotland, which came from Ireland, "after 100 years of isolation and independence," resorted to the views of the older Irish Church, and from that time she was practically the same as the rest of the Catholic Church in the West, acknowledging the Church of Rome as the mother of all the Western Churches.

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the state and position of the Celtic Church during these 100 years, during which, according to the Provost, she had developed into a Church constituted in a manner entirely different from the Church of Rome, during which, in fact, she became quite another Church, with a different form of government, different doctrines, different ritual, and different discipline. That is the Provost's contention, and his proof reduced to a syllogism is this—The Columban Church was ruled by an Abbot, who was not necessarily a Bishop. But this alone is sufficient to constitute her a Church entirely different from any other Church before or after. Therefore, she was entirely different from the Church of Rome.

Granting the major proposition of this syllogism, I deny entirely the minor, and therefore I deny the consequence and

the conclusion. The fact that the Columban Church was ruled by an Abbot is not sufficient to constitute her an entirely different Church. It is true that this was an exceptional and peculiar feature in the Columban Church. It is true that it is not the normal condition of the Church of Rome; but it is absolutely false to say that it would not be permissible, or, according to circumstances, perfectly justifiable and proper in a Church in full communion with Rome. For many years after the so-called Reformation the Catholic Church in Scotland was ruled by a Priest-Prefect—for many years after that by Vicars Apostolic. Neither of these are the normal government of the Roman Catholic Church, and even the restored hierarchy of the present day is not the full and complete form of government of our Church. And so with the Celtic Church. The Bishops of that Church were Monks, and as such they continued to obey their Abbots. As Bishops they were superior to the Abbots. As Monks they obeyed. One would suppose that Provost Macandrew thinks they received their orders and powers as Bishops from the Abbot, which of course is absurd to anyone in the least degree conversant with the Catholic doctrine regarding Holy Orders. And this is what I meant when I said that the Bishops yielded "a sort of civil jurisdiction to their Abbot." Everyone knows that civil jurisdiction, strictly speaking, refers to the State. But as this was neither, strictly speaking, a spiritual jurisdiction, I called it a *sort* (and I do not think unfairly)—a sort of civil jurisdiction. But if the Provost does not like the expression, I let it pass. All I contend for is, that the obedience which the Bishops yielded to their Abbots was their obedience only as monks. What *does* the worthy Provost mean when he says that "the Abbot was the superior and ruler of the whole Church in all matters ecclesiastical—in all matters of faith and worship—in a fuller sense than the Pope was ruler in his Church?" He has allowed his imagination run away with him. Of course I can quite understand that this ground of difference in the Columban Church must bulk much larger to the view of Provost Macandrew than it would do to an ordinary Roman Catholic. To one who cannot see a difference between matters of faith and matters of discipline, it naturally enough assumes the proposition

of a difference in Churches. But it is not so. Why, as I pointed out, Bede, *the Romanist*, referred to this peculiarity in the Celtic Church, but he did not dream of it as a reason why he should regard that Church as separate or distinct from his own, and I need not add that those were not days in which a difference involving the conclusions to which the Provost has arrived would have been tolerated. The whole thing is a myth, developed, not during the 100 years after St. Patrick, but in the fertile imagination of Provost Macandrew in the 19th century. Nay, one of the arguments upon which he relies to prove the difference of the Churches proves the very opposite. The Columban Church sent its missionaries into territories which had been already occupied by the Roman clergy. Therefore, concludes the Provost, it must have been a different Church. Well, that is, to say the least, very funny. So that, if an English body of clergy were to appear in a missionary country already occupied by a French clergy, would that prove that they belonged to different churches? Certainly not, unless they went to preach different doctrines. Thus, when Bishop Aidan went to Northumbria, there was no bishop there at the time, but the Saxons had been instructed by the Roman clergy, and naturally put themselves under the charge and guidance of Aidan, because he taught the same faith, and had become the bishop of that territory. That only shows that they were of the same faith—the same Church.

Now let us turn our attention to the Provost's main argument—his "*pièce de résistance*"—the Eastern question. "The Celtic Church had peculiar customs and observances to which it rigidly adhered, and which the Roman Clergy made the abandonment of them essential to the inclusion of the Church within the Catholic unity."

In the first place, then, I deny most distinctly that the Roman Church made the abandonment of the calculation, according to which the Celtic Church computed their Easter, essential to its inclusion within Catholic unity. What happened was this—When Augustine arrived in England, whither he had been sent by Pope Gregory to convert the Saxon nation, he found that the Welsh Church did not celebrate Easter Sunday on the same day on which it was kept on the Continent, and also that they had some

peculiarity in their ritual for the administration of baptism. As he had taught the Saxons, whom he had converted, the proper day on which Easter ought to be kept, he saw that this difference in the day of the principal festival of the Christian year would be a stumbling-block to the Saxons, and he accordingly invited the Welsh Bishops to lay aside these differences, which were only differences in matters of discipline, and unite with him in preaching the gospel to the Saxons. Fancy St Augustine, of all men, joining a church which was alien to his own, which did not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, in order to preach the gospel to the Pagans! The thing is absurd. The Provost imagines that Augustine's mission was to bring the Welsh Church into submission to his own, and demanded as a necessary condition that they would give up their peculiar usages; which, when they refused to do, he solemnly cursed them, and let them go their way. Now, it was no doubt part of Augustine's mission to correct abuses, which, in the course of time, had crept into the Welsh Church, shut out as it was from the rest of the world in the mountainous fastness of Wales. Pope Gregory directed his emissary, not only to preach to the English, but also to procure by *persuasive* means, if he could, a reformation of discipline and morals among the Britons. There is not one word or hint that the Welsh or Celtic Church was in any other matter different from the rest of the Churches of the West. Not a word nor a hint that it refused to acknowledge the authority of Rome. Why, if that had been the case, it must have been known, and the first step to bring them within Catholic unity must have been taken in that direction.

Bede tells us what happened. Augustine called the Welsh Bishops to meet him at a place in Worcestershire, since called Augustine's Oak. He endeavoured to *persuade* them by *fraternal* admonition (there is no word of *demanding submission* under penalty of being excluded from Catholic unity) that being (already) united in Christian peace, they would undertake the common labour of evangelising the Pagans. To this end he asked them to give up their practice of fixing the Easter period. When neither prayers, nor exhortations, nor entreaties prevailed, St. Augustine appealed to the miraculous power. A blind man was

brought before them. The British bishops failed to give him sight. Then Augustine prayed, that by giving corporal sight to this man, Almighty God might give them spiritual light. The blind man saw, and the Britons acknowledged that truth was on the side of Augustine, but that they could not give up their ancient customs without the consent of their people. They asked, however, to meet Augustine a second time for this purpose. Accordingly, seven bishops, with their most learned men, met him near the same place. On their way they consulted a learned and pious hermit whether they ought to give up their traditions at the call of Augustine. "If he is a holy man," said the hermit, "follow him." But how can we know? Well, if, on your approach, he rises to do you honour, know him to be meek and humble; if, on the contrary, he sit still, then he is proud and is not from God, and not to be listened to." It happened that St. Augustine remained sitting, and they would not listen to him. They charged him with pride and arrogance, and refused to listen to his solicitations. Does this prove that they did not acknowledge the authority of Rome? Surely not. The whole thing hinged on the foolish advice of the hermit. Had Augustine risen to do them honour, the British bishops would have taken him for their Archbishop, and yielded everything to him. Provost Macandrew says that when they refused to receive him as their Archbishop, Augustine doomed them to destruction, and left them. He did no such thing. If he had read Bede, he would have seen that what he says is, "The man of God *foretold* them, that if they would not receive their *brethren* in peace, they would receive war from their enemies—and that if they would not preach the way of life to the Saxons, they would suffer death at their hands"—which prophecy, Bede continues, was fulfilled. If, therefore, they refused to submit to St. Augustine, it was not because they regarded him as belonging to another Church, but because they listened to the advice of the hermit, who left the matter to be decided by his accidental rising or sitting. If they refused to preach to the Saxons, it was because they looked upon them as the invaders of their country, and enemies of their race. We cannot, indeed, say much for their intelligence or Christian charity, which is the worst we can say against them. But to suppose that

they knew nothing of the claims of Rome, and refused to submit to her authority, is preposterous, the more so when we take into account the fact well authenticated that the ancient Britons received the faith direct from Rome. Bede, lib i., civ. Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to the holy man, Eleutherius, who at that time ruled the Pontifical See, entreating him to instruct him and his people in the Christian religion. This was about the year 173. The Pope acceded to the wish of the King. Let us now turn to the neighbouring or Scottish Church, and we will find ourselves on similar ground. The inconvenience of keeping Easter at different periods, according to different computations, reached a climax in the household of Oswy, King of Northumbria. He had been instructed by the Scots, and married a Saxon princess, Eanfleda, who had received baptism at the hands of the Roman missionaries. The consequence was that, while the King was celebrating the joyous festival of Easter, after the Lentan fast, his queen and her household were only beginning the sorrowful devotions of Holy Week. She was a week behind. The confusion was intolerable, and the King determined to put an end to it—resolved to hear both sides of the question, and for this purpose summoned Colman on the part of the Scots, and Wilfrid as the supporter of the new system, to lay before him the reasons for their practices. This conference at Whitby can hardly be called a council, although it is sometimes designated as such. While Colman was a bishop, Wilfrid was only a priest. He did not appear in any sense as the delegate of the Pope. There could not, in the nature of this case, be a demand on his part of submission. It was merely the act of a king wishing to settle a family dispute. Colman, in giving his reasons for the Scottish custom, appealed to the authority of St. John the Evangelist and the practice of their Fathers, and especially St. Columba. Wilfrid replied, the Pasch which we celebrate at Rome is held also in Italy, in France, in Africa, Asia, and Greece, and over the whole world, with the exception of these two islands in the extremity of the ocean. As for the authority of St. John, he reminded them that many of the Jewish observances were tolerated in the infancy of the Church, on account of the weaknesses of the Jewish converts. Thus, he said, St. Paul

himself had Timothy circumcised. But he pointed out that the Scottish mode of computing Easter was not even in accordance with that of St. John—that, as for the holy founder of Iona, he had no doubt he acted throughout in good faith, and that he felt convinced, if the proper cycle had been pointed out to him, he would have, according to his known piety, adopted it. He then appealed to the authority of St. Peter. Colman did not deny, but acknowledged the authority of Peter. The reasoning of Wilfrid was sufficient to convince the King that the new mode of reckoning Easter was better than the old. Provost Macandrew contends that the fact that Bishop Colman, who was a bishop, did not yield at once to Wilfrid—who was only a priest—is sufficient to convince him that the Scottish Church did not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. All I can say is that, where he wishes to be convinced, it requires very little to bring about that consummation; and the only way he can dispose of Bede's account is to say that, Bede being a Roman Churchman, gives the best of it to Wilfrid! It is true that Colman did not yield to Wilfrid, but others did. Cedd, a Scottish bishop, who was present, gave up the Scottish mode, and introduced into his own see the new and better mode of computing Easter. Bede says that the greater number of those who were present followed his example, and that Colman returned to consult his brethren at home, and, it is said, shortly afterwards, he also saw his error. Certain it is that the Scottish Church became divided on this point, and as those who adhered to their local traditions were not called upon to retract under penalty of being cut off from Catholic unity, we cannot look upon them as schismatics. If they did refuse to yield to the Roman custom because they did not acknowledge the authority of Rome, then, all we can say is, that they would have become schismatics, and, indeed, by some they are regarded as such; but that does not prove that the Church as founded by St. Columba did not acknowledge Rome, or that he would not have adopted the new calendar if he had known it. The fact that the Conference at Whitby had no authoritative character is enough to show that the conduct of Colman in first consulting his brethren before giving his decision proves nothing against my position. The fact that it took a considerable time

before the Scots universally adopted the new system, only shows how difficult it is to overturn national prejudices and customs, and the wisdom of Rome is manifested in the moderation with which she moves in such circumstances, leaving matters to time and fuller knowledge when it is not a question of faith. But how arises the question, What was the cycle adopted by the Scots? Whence came it? Who introduced it? One thing is clear, it did not come from the East. Colman was wrong when he relied on the authority of St. John. The Scots were not *Quarto decimans*. What will Provost Macandrew say when I tell him that this cycle actually came from Rome. An ancient table for the computation of Easter, which had long puzzled the antiquarians, has been shown by the Chevalier de Rossi to have been used in Rome during the fourth century. The computation is given down to the year 354, and it agrees exactly with the calendar used by the Scots in the seventh century. When the troubled times came the Western Isles were cut off from much intercourse with the Continent, and they were naturally ignorant of the corrected calculations which had been meantime adopted in Rome, and it is to this that Wilfrid referred when he said to Colman that "if any Catholic calculator had come among them they would have followed his admonitions." In the words of De Rossi it is only another argument for the bond of union between the Celtic and Roman Church. One word in conclusion. I pointed to a most interesting contemporary evidence of what the faith of the Celtic Church was, from the mouth of no less a person than Wilfrid himself, who stood up in a council at Rome and professed before the Pope and Bishops assembled that he and the Celts, the Britons, Picts, and Saxons were of the one true Catholic faith. And how does Provost Macandrew meet this? By saying, It is impossible now to say what Wilfrid meant by the true Catholic faith! "*Risum teneatis amici.*" Impossible to know what a Catholic Bishop means by the true Catholic faith when he speaks before the Pope in Council! Oh, but he was a fugitive from his own Church! says the Provost, grasping at a straw. Well, what of that? He came to Rome to appeal against the encroachments of Archbishop Theodore, and his appeal was sustained, and he himself restored. But what has that to do with his profession

of faith? Oh, but he was not authorised to speak in the name of the Scottish Church. I never said he was. But what I said and say is, that here is a piece of contemporary evidence on the part of a Roman Catholic Bishop, who lived among the Scots, who knew their faith—that it was the same faith which he himself held, and of which he there and then made open profession in the Council. I do not claim for this more than it is worth. It is only a piece of evidence, and the stronger because it is contemporary evidence, and that, too, on the part of a man who, if anyone would, would have been in opposition to the Scottish Church, declaring that he was not in opposition, but of the same true Catholic faith. I will only ask Provost Macandrew to give me one piece of *contemporary* evidence, no matter from whom, as clear and explicit to show that the Churches were not in Catholic unity. This he never can show, and I do not think there is much use in continuing the argument with one who cannot see the difference between matters of faith and matters of discipline, and who convinces himself that when he sees a difference in matters of pure discipline, not involving one single principle of dogmatic faith, he can see two Churches and two faiths.

ÆNEAS CHISHOLM.

Banff.



THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS—THEIR SOCIAL AND LITERARY HISTORY—1775-1832.

[BY PROVOST MACANDREW.]

(Continued.)

THE next great cause of change was the introduction of the rearing of sheep as a prime industry. When the Highlands were opened up, and the landlords directed their attention to the means of increasing their rentals, it was perceived that the Highland hills were well suited for sheep walks, such as had long been in existence on the Borders, and had then almost without record or observation, turned the land of the Scotts and Elliots, Kerrs and Johnstones, and other Border clans into great pastoral wastes, and that the great mountain wastes which had hitherto been the common grazing grounds of a whole district, for a few weeks in summer afforded pasture for a proportionably small number of cattle requiring a host of attendants, were fitted to maintain all the year round, or nearly so, great flocks of sheep which required very little attendance, and in their wool, and in their lambs, afforded a double source of annual profit in addition to the return from those sold for mutton. This mode of using the hills not only thus afforded a more ample rent to the proprietors, and a great saving of trouble in management of estates, but by the wily southern graziers who began to come in, and by enlightened people from the south, it was lauded as an improvement, and the man who caused the barren hills to produce so many pounds of mutton and of wool, when before only a much smaller number of pounds of beef had been produced, was looked on as a benefactor to mankind, inasmuch as he increased the material resources of the country, and was placed on the same pedestal as the man who made two blades of grass grow when only one grew before. In fact, improvement in this sense became a rage. Now, there is no doubt that it was carried out much too rapidly, and on too great a scale, and without due regard to the feelings or the interests of the dwellers on the soil, and, as we are now learn-

ing, without due regard to the permanent interests of the land and its possessors, or of the country at large.

In Sutherland the change was carried out wholesale and at once, and in course of a very few years the people were removed wholesale from the inland glens and settled along the sea coast. The history of these deplorable evictions is well-known, and need not be dwelt upon. Nobody probably has deplored them more deeply than the amiable nobleman in whose name they were carried out, and who certainly believed that he was improving his country, and benefiting his successors. In other parts of the country the process was more gradual, for I do not find any case of wholesale eviction from the last of those in Sutherland, which took place about 1820, till after the end of the period about which we are now speaking. In very many instances the old tacksmen became sheep farmers, and by their personal and family influence they no doubt induced their sub-tenants to remove voluntarily. The way in which the conversion of the country into sheep walks affected the smaller class of holders appears to have been this—The holding of a tacksmen with the addition of a vast range of waste over which he and his sub-tenants, and probably the possessor of adjoining club farms, grazed in common in summer were converted into a sheep walk. With the proper occupation of it as such the holdings of the sub-tenants, scattered probably all over it wherever there was a patch of good soil, interfered materially, and the cultivated patches and green spots around the settlement were coveted as grazing; the dogs and children of these people disturbed the sheep, and their few sheep mixed with the flocks, and probably communicated disease. In fact, the people became a nuisance to the sheep farmer, and their land became a necessity to him, and either gradually or wholesale they were removed, and settled, in the West Coast, along the sea coast, or on the farms already held by joint tenants sub-dividing the possessions with them, and in the East Coast along the skirts of the cultivated land in the great valleys, and along the coast. Hence the green spots showing signs of cultivation, and the ruins of houses which are to be found in all the upland glens, particularly on the West.

Almost co-temporary with the introduction of sheep-farming

were two other circumstances, which had a powerful effect, principally on the West Coast and Islands. These were the general cultivation of the potato and a rise in the price of the products of kelp which took place about the beginning of this century. The extraordinarily prolific nature of the potato made it possible, by its cultivation, for a family to subsist on a very much smaller extent of ground than they could when their dependence was on corn and cattle, and the manufacture of kelp, while affording a very large profit to the landlords whose estates were bordered by the Western seas, afforded a remunerative source of labour for a few months in the year to the people, and seems to have been one of the main causes which led to the stoppage of the flow of emigration. This was one of the main causes which produced the overcrowding of the people in what are now called the congested localities along the Coast. Coincident with this again was the introduction of the system of lotting, as it is called, which led to the existence of the present West Coast crofts. Formerly, as I have said, the arable land in townships occupied by joint-tenants was, like the grazing, held in common, and divided every year among the occupiers. About the beginning of the century a change was introduced, and it became the practice to divide the arable land into lots or crofts, which were possessed separately, the possession carrying a right to the grazing of a fixed number of animals on the grazing land of the township, which was still, by the necessity of the case, held in common. This was intended, and one would suppose it to be an improvement, for naturally it was to be expected that when a man had exclusive possession of a piece of arable land, he would cultivate it more carefully than if he only had the right to crop it for a year at a time. The effect has been, however, the very reverse. Formerly, and when a farm was possessed by a number of families in common, it was the interest of all to prevent any increase of the families living on it—latterly, and when each man possessed his own croft, he could settle a son, or a daughter's husband, or other relative on it without consulting any person, and accordingly a system of subdivision has gone on, often in the face of the exertions of landlord and factor to prevent it, till there are now very few of the original lots or crofts possessed by one tenant, a half croft being the common

holding, and there being often greater subdivision, and a host of cottars and squatters, besides, settled on every crofting township. The extent of land possessed by each family is thus only sufficient for a patch of oats and a patch of potatoes, and is cultivated by these crops in alternate years without rest of any kind; sown grasses are not used; the arable land is run over by the sheep and cattle in winter, and the system of agriculture is absolutely worse than it was a hundred and fifty years ago. The extent to which subdivision and the compression of the people into small space has taken place, has now been shown beyond all doubt by a pamphlet which has just been published by Mr. Macdonald of Skae-bost, which is worth all the literature on the subject which has hitherto been published, and which all interested in the crofter question should read. In it are given the rentals of the Macleod estates in 1664, of the Macdonald estates in 1733, and of the Mackinnon estates in 1751, these comprising very nearly the whole of Skye. According to calculations made by Mr. Macdonald from these rentals, and from the evidence of the tenants given in ascertaining them, and on the assumption that there was no material change till after the Rebellion, it appears that the rental of Skye has increased since then about ten times, that the number of joint-tenants then possessing land was 517, paying an average rent of what, according to the present rental, would be £17; and 1031 sub-tenants holding from tacksmen, and paying on the average a rent of £9; whereas there are now 2043 crofters paying an average rent of £4 11s. 7d., or so, or to put it in another way, and equalising the rents, the joint-tenants and sub-tenants in 1746, paid £18,279 of rent, and now, while the number has increased one-third, they pay only £9357, or little more than one-half. Again, at the former time, there were 142 landlords and tacksmen holding land, and now there are only 7 proprietors and 29 tacksmen.

These figures contrast the changes in the economic condition of the people on the West during the time of which we are treating. On the Eastern side of the country some of the causes which I have indicated did not apply, and the course of events has led to very different results. This is to be accounted for partly by the difference of climate and soil, and partly by the

different natural distribution of the land, but so great has been the difference that one is tempted to suspect some radical difference of race. The climate on the East is favourable to cultivation ; there is a broad belt of arable land along the coast, and the greater distance of the coast from the water shed has given us rivers with long courses, which have furrowed the country into broad valleys, with long and fertile bottoms. This was all favourable to agriculture, and consequently attention was soon directed to it, and great improvements had taken place in this way before the introduction of sheep. Sheep, too, were late of being introduced, and they never became the exclusive possessors of the land as in the West. There has no doubt been far too much adding of field to field, but we have not had anything approaching the massing of the people into contracted areas which took place on the West, and even now there is a fair distribution of land into holdings of various sizes, which offers to the industrious small farmer that opportunity of improving his position which is totally absent in the West.

Another cause which led to change, but which was only beginning to be powerful at the close of our period, was the letting of our moors and mountains for purposes of sport. Deer forests had hardly begun to be talked of, but grouse moors were becoming much the fashion, and their tendency was to discourage small holdings in sporting districts—for the sportsman desires a waste—and to lead very much to the new residence of the proprietors.

No account of the Highlands during this period would be complete without a reference, which must now be a short one, to the military spirit which pervaded the people during the whole period of which we are treating. Previous to the suppression of the Rebellion, every Highlander was a soldier, and went habitually armed. It was natural, therefore, that they should look to the army as a means of employment when they found their presence at home no longer required. At that time too the army was very different from what it is now. The extravagant habits of the present mess-tables were unknown, and the short-service system had not been thought of. The officer of those days seldom had any private fortune, and the habits of the army were such that he was able to live on his pay, and even if he only attained the rank of lieutenant, on his pension ; while to the common soldier pay and

pension were an ample provision. To enter the army in any rank was thus a provision for life. To the proud, poor Highlander of all ranks the profession of a soldier therefore offered irresistible attractions. It was the profession of a gentleman, it was congenial to his habits and to his thoughts and feelings—nurtured as he was on the stirring records of a warlike race, it relieved him from the necessity of any menial or mechanical employment, and from all anxiety as to the future. The time too was propitious; it was a time of constant wars, men for the army were urgently required, and the elder Pitt saw with the glance of genius where they were to be got. As he said himself, in a memorable and often-quoted speech:—"I sought for merit where it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to upset the State in the war before last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." The system which Pitt adopted, and which was continued down to the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, the giving of commissions for the raising of a certain quota of men, admirably suited the circumstances of the Highlands. Accordingly, from 1757 to 1815, Highlanders literally swarmed into the army, and many a youth brought up in a bothy, but with good blood in his veins, was able, by this influence still attaching to his blood and name, to gather together a band of his neighbours and companions sufficient to entitle him to a commission, and thus to establish himself in a social position, to which he felt his lineage entitled him, but to which he had probably no other means of attaining. It was during this time that all the ever-victorious Highland Regiments, which are yet the pride and glory of the nation, were raised, and there were many others, which have since been disbanded, raised. Down to the time of the Crimean War, too, these regiments all continued to be substantially Highland, and until that time the Highlands were a favourite and prolific recruiting ground. With the Crimean War came the necessity

of great and immediate increase to the army, and the great towns had to be resorted to, and regiments were filled up without regard to nationality. Following on this came the short service system, with the disappearance of the pension, and somehow not only were the Highlands neglected as a recruiting ground, but the conditions of service appear to have become unsuitable, and to a very great extent Highland Regiments were so only in name and dress. This is very greatly to be regretted, for nowhere does the Highlander appear to greater advantage than as a soldier, and it is to be hoped that, with the increased permission for long service, and the quartering of a Highland Regiment permanently in the Highland Capital, the old spirit may revive, and that Highland Regiments may become so in reality both as regards officers and men. I have not said anything about the services of the Highland Regiments, for this does not fall within my present subject, but if any proof is wanted that the Highland people of the time of which we are treating, or of an earlier time, were not rude and uncivilized, and were in no sense degraded by poverty, but were, on the contrary, a sober, God-fearing, intelligent, and moral race, in a much higher degree than persons of the same class in other parts of the country, we have only to turn to the records of the conduct of the Highland Regiments, particularly those first raised, in camp and quarters. They were not only brave in the field, but in peace they were orderly, sober, amenable to discipline, thus exhibiting the highest qualities of men and of soldiers.

The large number of men who served in the army naturally produced a large number of retired military men, who settled in their native land. It became much the fashion with them to take farms, and these men naturally gave a tone to the society of their time, and contributed to keep up that honourable tone of feeling and high and gentleman-like bearing which had distinguished the Highlanders of the old time.

Such are briefly some of the causes and their effects which marked this period of time in the Highlands. But even at the close of this period, much of the old spirit and the old state of society still remained. All over the Highlands many of the old tacksmen families remained, and even when new men had come

they were rapidly assimilated, and adopted the old habits of free and cordial hospitality which had distinguished the good old time. The causes I have indicated were still at work, but they had not produced their full effects, and it is since the close of this period that the great changes have taken place; that the race of long descended gentlemen-tacksmen has been swept entirely away. I believe there are not now half-a-dozen considerable farmers in the Highlands and Islands who hold the farms which their ancestors held over one hundred and fifty years ago. I only really know of one. To show the magnitude of the change, I will just quote one sentence:—When the late Cluny brought home his bride in 1832—and we have lost them both only within the last eighteen months—he was met at Dalwhinnie by upwards of sixty mounted gentlemen of his clan. Where are these or their descendants now? An echo answers where? They are certainly not in Badenoch.

(To be continued.)



SMUGGLING IN THE HIGHLANDS.

[BY JOHN MACDONALD, SUPERVISOR.]

(Continued.)

I AM surprised to find so little reference to whisky and smuggling in our modern Gaelic poetry and literature. There is no reference in earlier writings. In fact, both are more indebted to Burns for their popularity than to any of our Highland writers. Dugald Buchanan (1716-1768) has a reference to drinking in his celebrated "Claigeann." Rob Donn (1724-1812) has "Oran a Bhotuil," and "Oran a Bhrannaidh." Allan Dall (1750-1829) has "Oran do'n Mhisg," Uilleam Ross (1762-1790) has "Moladh an Uisge-Bheatha," and Mac-na-Bracha; and Fear Strath mhathasaidh has "Comunn an uisge-Bheatha." But their songs are not very brilliant, and cannot be compared with Burns' poems on the same subject. Highland whisky and smuggling do not appear to hold a befitting place in Highland song and literature.

We have seen that the manufacture and consumption of whisky on an extensive scale in the Highlands is comparatively recent. So far as can be ascertained, the quantity was not large even 100 years ago. Since the beginning of the 17th century the Highland people were in the habit of distilling in their homes for their own private use, and no doubt to this practice is due to a great extent the prevalence of illicit distillation among them at one time. As late as 1859 every household was allowed to have a bushel of malt for making ale, and cottagers are to be again exempted from the brewing licence recently imposed upon them. Such a privilege as the Ferintosh exemption must have exercised an evil influence among the people. They must have looked upon illicit distillation as a very venial offence when Government would grant permission to manufacture whisky practically duty free. As a rule, spirits were distilled from the produce of their own lands, and the people being simple and illiterate, ignorant alike of the necessity for a national Exchequer, and of the ways and means taken by Parliament to raise revenue, they could not readily and clearly see the justice of levying a tax upon their whisky. They draw a sharp distinction between offences created

by English statute and violations of the laws of God. The law which made distillation illegal came to them in a foreign garb. Highlanders had no great love or respect for the English Government. If the Scottish Parliament could pass an Act to destroy all pewits' eggs, because the birds migrated South, where they arrived plump and fat, and afforded sport and food for the English, it need not cause surprise if Highlanders had not forgotten Glencoe, Culloden, Butcher Cumberland, the tyrannical laws to suppress the clans, and the "outlandish race that fillet the Stuart's throne."

While a highly sentimental people, like the Highlanders, were in some degree influenced by these and similar considerations, the extent of illicit distillation depended in a great measure on the amount of duty, and the nature of the Excise regulations. The smuggler's gain was in direct proportion to the amount of the spirit duty; the higher the duty the greater the gain and the stronger the temptation. We have seen how the authorities of the time, regardless of the feelings and the habits of the people, and of the nature and capabilities of the Highlands, imposed restrictions which were injudicious, vexatious, and injurious; which not only rendered it impracticable for the legal distiller to engage profitably in honest business, but actually encouraged the illicit distiller. We have seen how, particularly under the operation of the still licence, the legal distiller, in his endeavours to increase production, sacrificed the quality of his spirits, until the illicit distiller commanded the market by supplying whisky superior in quality and flavour. To this fact, more than to anything else, is due the popular prejudice which has existed, and still exists in some quarters, in favour of smuggled whisky. There can be no doubt that while the still licence was in force from 1787 to 1814, and perhaps for some years later, the smugglers' whisky was superior in quality and flavour to that produced by the licensed distiller. But this holds true no longer; indeed, the circumstances are actually reversed. The Highland distiller has now the best appliances, uses the best materials, employs skill and experience, exercises the greatest possible care, and further, matures his spirit in bond—whisky being highly deleterious unless it is matured by age. On the other hand the smuggler uses rude imperfect utensils, very often inferior materials, works by

rule of thumb, under every disadvantage and inconvenience, and is always in a state of terror and hurry, which is incompatible with good work and the best results. He begins by purchasing inferior barley, which, as a rule, is imperfectly malted. He brews without more idea of proper heats than dipping his finger or seeing his face in the water, and the quantity of water used is regulated by the size and number of his vessels. His setting heat is decided by another dip of the finger, and supposing he has yeast of good quality, and may by accident add the proper quantity, the fermentation of his worts depends on the weather, as he cannot regulate the temperature in his temporary bothy, although he often uses sacks and blankets, and may during the night kindle a fire. But the most fatal defect in the smuggler's appliances is the construction of his still. Ordinary stills have head elevations from 12 to 18 feet, which serves for purposes of rectification, as the fusel oils and other essential oils and acids fall back into the still, while the alcoholic vapour, which is more volatile, passes over to the worm, where it becomes condensed. The smuggler's still has no head elevation, the still-head being as flat as an old blue bonnet, and consequently the essential oils and acids pass over the alcohol into the worm, however carefully distillation may be carried on. These essential oils and acids can only be eliminated, neutralised, or destroyed by storing the spirits some time in wood, but the smuggler, as a rule, sends his spirits out new in jars and bottles, so that the smuggled whisky, if taken in considerable quantities, is actually poisonous. Ask anyone who has had a good spree on new smuggled whisky, how he felt next morning. Again, ordinary stills have rousers to prevent the wash sticking to the bottom of the pot and burning. The smuggler has no such appliance in connection with his still, the consequence being that his spirits frequently have a singed, smoky flavour. The evils of a defective construction are increased a hundred-fold, when, as is frequently the case, the still is made of tin, and the worm of tin or lead. When spirits and acids come in contact with such surfaces, a portion of the metal is dissolved, and poisonous metallic salts are produced, which must be injurious to the drinker. Paraffin casks are frequently used in brewing, and it will be readily understood that however carefully

cleaned, their use cannot improve the quality of our much-praised smuggled whisky. Again, the rule of thumb is applied to the purity and strength of smuggled spirits. At ordinary distilleries there are scientific appliances for testing these, but the smuggler must guess the former, and must rely for the latter on the blebs or bubbles caused by shaking the whisky. On this unsatisfactory test, plus the honesty of the smuggler, which is generally an unknown quantity, the purchaser also must rely. This is certainly a happy-go-lucky state of matters which it would be a pity to disturb by proclaiming the truth. Very recently an order came from the South to Inverness for two gallons of smuggled whisky. The order being urgent, and no immediate prospect of securing the genuine article, a dozen bottles of new raw grain spirit were sent to a well-known smuggling locality, and were thence despatched South as real mountain dew. No better proof could be given of the coarseness and absolute inferiority of smuggled whisky.

But the physical injury caused by drinking an impure, immature whisky, and the pecuniary loss sustained by purchasing a whisky of inferior quality and unknown strength at the price of good, honest spirit, are nothing compared to the moral aspect of the case. Let me quote again from Stewart of Garth (1821), "I must now advert to a cause which contributes to demoralise the Highlanders in a manner equally rapid and lamentable. Smuggling has grown to an alarming extent, and if not checked will undermine the best principles of the people. Let a man be habituated to falsehood and fraud in one line of life, and he will soon learn to extend it to all his actions. This traffic operates like a secret poison on all their moral feelings. They are the more rapidly betrayed into it, as, though acute and ingenious in regard to all that comes within the scope of their observation, they do not comprehend the nature or purpose of imports levied on the produce of the soil, nor have they any distinct idea of the practice of smuggling being attended with disgrace or turpitude. The open defiance of the laws, the progress of chicanery, perjury, hatred, and mutual recrimination, with a constant dread and suspicion of informers—men not being sure of nor confident in their next neighbours—which results from

smuggling, and the habit which it engenders, are subjects highly important, and regarded with the most serious consideration and the deepest regret by all who value the permanent welfare of their country, which depends so materially upon the preservation of the morals of the people.* This is a terrible picture, but I am in a position to vouch that it is only too true. The degradation, recklessness, and destitution which, as a rule, follow in the wake of illicit distillation are notorious to all. I know of three brothers on the West Coast. Two of them settled down on crofts, became respectable members of the community, and with care and thrift and hard work even acquired some little means. The third took to smuggling, and has never done anything else; has been several times in prison, has latterly lost all his smuggling utensils, and is now an old broken-down man, without a farthing, without sympathy, without friends, one of the most wretched objects in the whole parish. Not one in a hundred has gained anything by smuggling in the end. I know most of the smugglers in my own district personally. With a few exceptions they are the poorest among the people. How can they be otherwise? Their's is the work of darkness, and they must sleep through the day. Their crofts are not half tilled or manured; their houses are never repaired; their very children are neglected, dirty, and ragged. They cannot bear the strain of regular steady work even if they feel disposed. Their moral and physical stamina have become impaired, and they can do nothing except under the unhealthy influence of excitement and stimulants. Gradually their manhood becomes undermined, their sense of honour becomes deadened, and they become violent law-breakers and shameless cheats. This is invariably the latter end of the smuggler, and generally his sons follow his footsteps in the downward path, or he finds disciples among his neighbours' lads, so that the evil is spread and perpetuated. Smuggling is, in short, a curse to the individual and to the community. *(To be continued.)*

* Dealing with the subject of smuggling, Buckle, in his "History of Civilisation," says:—"The economical evils, great as they were, have been far surpassed by the moral evils which this system produced. These men, desperate from the fear of punishment, and accustomed to the commission of every crime, contaminated the surrounding population, introduced into peaceful villages vices formerly unknown, caused the ruin of entire families, spread, whenever they came, drunkenness, theft, and dissoluteness, and familiarised their associates with those coarse and swinish debaucheries which were the natural habits of so vagrant and so lawless a life."

TRAGIC FULFILMENT OF A CAITHNESS PREDICTION.

ABOUT the year 1612 Lord Maxwell of Nithsdale had a quarrel with a neighbouring Border chief, Sir James Johnstone, and, happening to meet one day, the dispute was renewed, until from words they came to blows, when Maxwell unfortunately ran Sir James through the body and killed him on the spot. Horror-stricken at the tragic result of the quarrel, and fearing the vengeance of the murdered man's relatives, Maxwell took to flight, and made his escape to France. He soon, however, returned, and concealed himself for some considerable time in the wilds of Caithness, trusting to the well-known generosity of the natives not to betray him. A price was set on his head, but he was safe enough so far as the common people were concerned, who scorned to betray even a stranger who trusted himself to them. These fine sentiments were not, however, held by their leader, Colonel George Sinclair, who, on hearing of the fugitive lord, determined to curry favour with the Government by giving him up. Accordingly, he pursued him, and at length secured him near the boundary of the county, and at once sent him to Edinburgh, where the unfortunate gentleman was executed.

Tradition states that when Lord Maxwell was taken prisoner by Colonel Sinclair he upbraided him in no measured terms for his treachery, and told him that he would never prosper after such a deed, but would soon meet with a violent death himself. The Colonel laughed at this ominous prophecy; but he soon had cause to remember it, for, finding that his neighbours, and even his clansmen, resented his violation of the rules of hospitality, he determined to leave Caithness for a while, and entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to assist him in his war against Denmark and Norway.

Having raised a body of 900 men, he embarked, accompanied by his young and beautiful wife, who could not bear to be left behind, and who, to avoid publicity, dressed herself in man's clothes and went as her husband's page. Colonel Sinclair found

he could not land at Stockholm, as the Baltic was in possession of a strong Danish fleet. He therefore determined to land in Norway, and fight his way at the head of his men across the country until he could reach Sweden and join the King's army. He accordingly began his march, laying waste the country, and ill-treating the peasantry in a most cruel manner. This brutality at last so aroused the people that they were nerved to make some attempt at retaliation.

The "budstick," (answering to the Fiery Cross of the Highlands) was sent round. The people assembled, armed with muskets and axes, to the number of 500, and placed themselves under the leadership of one of their number, named Berdon Seilstad, who, seeing he could not compete with the invaders in numbers, had recourse to stratagem. Sinclair's movements were carefully watched by spies, until he arrived at a place considered favourable for attack. This was a narrow defile between a precipitous rock on one side and a deep and rapid stream on the other. While Sinclair was deliberating whether to pass this dangerous gorge, or try to find another road, he espied a young countryman, who he at once took prisoner, and by threats and promises compelled him to act as his guide. The lad seemed very simple and stupid, but agreed to act as guide if they would not hurt him. Having obtained a promise to this effect, he led them farther through the difficult pass, until, at a certain spot he suddenly stopped, and firing a pistol which he had hitherto kept concealed, leaped among the rocks, and at once disappeared. Before the report of the pistol shot had died away, Sinclair's party heard the blowing of a horn, and in a moment the rocks which overhung the narrow path, were alive with the enraged natives, who poured a terrific volley on the devoted heads of the entrapped Caithness-men. Those of the peasants who had no firearms, hurled down fragments of rock and large stones, which proved as destructive as the muskets of the others. The erstwhile guide was among the foremost of the enemy, with all his assumed stupidity thrown off, and was seen to be pointing out Colonel Sinclair to Berdon Seilstad, the leader of the Norwegians, who, having heard that Sinclair bore a charmed life not to be injured by ordinary shot, pulled off one of the silver buttons of

his coat, and, biting it into shape, loaded his musket with it, and, taking deadly aim, shot Colonel Sinclair over the left eye, killing him instantaneously. The carnage was dreadful, and the Scots were killed wholesale, without being able either to defend themselves or attack their enemies. Numbers of the wounded fell into the roaring waters of the torrent below, while about sixty were taken prisoners, and of the whole 900 who entered that fatal pass, only three escaped and succeeded in making their way back to Caithness. One was the wife of the Colonel, the other two being gentlemen who knew the supposed page was their Colonel's wife, and did their best to defend her.

There is a pathetic incident mentioned in connection with this unfortunate affair. The day before the slaughter of the Caithness men, a young Norwegian was sitting with his betrothed bride in earnest conversation. He wished to join his countrymen in their proposed attack, and she was trying to dissuade him from doing so; but on hearing that one of her own sex was supposed to be among the invaders, she wished her lover to go to their camp privately that night and try to protect the lady from the fate which they well knew awaited the rest. He consented, and in the twilight made his way unseen to where the Scots lay encamped for the night; but, in endeavouring to get near enough to Mrs. Sinclair to give her warning, he was perceived by her, and, not waiting to hear what he wanted, she shot at, and killed him. Tradition records that it was the bereaved and grief-stricken bride, who, disguised as a lad, led the Scots to their doom, and revenged her lover's death by pointing out Colonel Sinclair to the Norwegian Captain. The sixty men who were taken prisoners were a few days afterwards marched to a field and there brutally slaughtered in cold blood by the natives, who had got tired of providing food and lodging for them. Their comrades, who fell at the time, were left as they lay, for the birds of the air and beasts of prey to devour; but the body of Colonel Sinclair was decently buried, and a wooden cross erected over the grave with the following inscription:—

"Here lies Colonel George Sinclair, who, with 900 Scotsmen, were dashed to pieces, like so many earthen pots, by the peasants of Lessoe, Vaage, and Froem. Berdon Seilstad of Ringeboe was their leader."

Robert Chambers, who visited Norway in 1849, and went to the scene of the tragedy, says—"In a peasant's house near by were shown to me a few relics of the Caithness men, a matchlock or two, a broadsword, a couple of powder-flasks, and the wooden part of a drum."

And thus ended one of the most unfortunate, fatal, and inglorious military adventures in which Scotsmen were ever engaged.

M. A. ROSE.

C. PSALM IN IRISH.

As there is no long metre version of the Hundredth Psalm in the Scotch Gaelic Psalm Book, perhaps some of your readers will be interested in the following from the version prepared by the late Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod ("An Teachdaire Gaidhealach") "for the use of the native Irish," in 1836. J. W.

Fuaim luathghaireach deanaidh gach tìr,
Don Triath ar nard-Thighearna fìor;
Tigidhe a's deanaidh seirbhis dò,
Air aghaidh le subhachas gach lò.

Ni sinn do rinn sinn tein, a Dhia,
Biodh aguibh fìos gur b' e an Triath;
A dhaoine sinn 's a shluagh go léir,
Caoire a innbhir cneasda shaoir.

Tigidhe 'na gheatuibh-sior a steach,
Go cuirtibh aluin a naomh-theach,
A's tigidhe fos le moladh mor,
A làthair Rìgh na nuile ghloir.

Sar-bhuidheachos anois tugaigh dhò,
A's ainm-sion beannuigh gach lò;
Oir Dia ta maith a's troc 'reach sior;
Go sao'l na sao'l ta seisean fìor.

CONCERNING LOCHIEL—1664, 1717, AND 1784.

TIMES have greatly changed when the quarrels of two great Highland Chiefs made it necessary for a neutral person to get an Assurance and Protection such as that after given. In course of the lengthened quarrels betwixt Mackintosh and Lochiel in regard to the great estate of Glen Luie and Loch Arkaig, matters were in the year 1664 referred to arbitration.

The arbiter fixed upon was the Earl of Moray, and, considering the hostility displayed on many an occasion by that family to the Mackintoshes, it showed a great spirit of conciliation on the part of Mackintosh that he agreed to this arbiter.

The meeting was appointed to be held at Tomnahurich early in the month of June ; but, though William Baillie of Dunain was willing to accommodate the Camerons coming from the West by allowing them to encamp on his lands, he deemed it necessary for his safety to get the following Letter of Assurance from Mackintosh :—

“Whereas Evan Cameron of Lochyeld has ane assurance of me to com the length of Dunzean, attended with threttie persons only, and to stay there for the space of four days (this being the first) without trouble or molestation. And seeing Wm. Bailzie of Dunzean, his wife and servants, cannot goodly but have communication with the said Evan and his said attendants during the tym aforesaid. Therefore, I do assure the said Wm. and his aforesaid that he nor they shall no ways be troubled by me for inter-communing with the said Evan and his said attendants during the space aforesaid. They thereby acting nothing prejudicial to the authority, nor to me nor myn, and hereof I assure them by these, subscribed at Inverness, the eight day of June, 1664 years, by me.

(Signed)

“L. MACKINTOSHE,

Of Torcastell.”

After full deliberation, it was determined that Lochiel should have the lands, but hold them of and under Mackintosh as his

superior, and pay a considerable feu-duty. Affecting to acquiesce, Lochiel obtained a day to think over the matter while the necessary documents could be prepared, but his pride, and the anger of the clansmen having been aroused at the idea of vassalage to Mackintosh, Lochiel and his men decamped in the night with great expedition, and he afterwards repudiated the decreet of Tomnahurich.

Two years later Lochiel had to accept the superiority of the Duke of Argyll, and, as will be immediately seen, that family did not scruple to exercise their rights of superiority after the rising of 1715.

Sir Evan in his latter years had disposed of his estate to his eldest son, John, reserving to himself a certain life-rent. John Cameron was attained in 1716.

It thus happened that before his death, Sir Evan had the misfortune to see the estates which, after great effort, he had preserved and consolidated, apparently lost to the family for ever.

Sir Evan continued to live at Achnacarry, and as late as the 29th day of January, 1717, he signs, at that place, a procuratory to have himself served nearest and lawful heir male to his deceased nephew, Allan Cameron, son of his also deceased brother, Allan Cameron. The Procuratory which is signed "E. Cameron of Lochzeill" in a very tremulous hand, and altogether a wonderful piece of caligraphy, is witnessed by Archibald Cameron of Dunggallon, and Alex. Cameron, cousin German to Glendessary.

The object of the service appears to have been for the purpose of making up a title to a wadsett, dated the 18th of May, 1696, granted by Sir Evan for the sum of 6000 merks over the lands of Achnasaul.

In 1717, John, Duke of Argyll ; Elizabeth, Duchess Dowager of Argyll, his mother ; James, Earl of Bute ; Archibald, Earl of Islay ; Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, Bart. ; John Campbell, Lord Provost of Edinburgh ; Colonel Alex. Campbell of Finnab ; George Drummond, Esq., one of the Commissioners of H.M.'s Excise ; Mr. Patrick Campbell of Monzie, advocate ; and Ronald Campbell, Writer to the Signet, commissioners nominated by his Grace, the said John, Duke of Argyll, for managing his affairs and estate, conform to his commission to them, or any three of them,

who are thereby declared to be a quorum, dated 10th September, 1716, lose no time in taking possession of Glen Luie and Loch Arkaig, and they pursue the tenants to make payment of the rents to the Duke, as in right, under the late Act for the encouragement of superiors, etc., of the lands which formerly pertained to John Cameron, late of Lochiel, attainted. The following is a list of the tenants' names and their rents of the lands before referred to, but it does not include Lochiel's tenants on his Argyleshire estates, nor those on his part of Lochaber held of the Duke of Gordon.

It will be observed that few surnames are given, and that the ancient Macphees of Glendessary have become Camerons—their "alias" being Macphee. A rental of these lands in 1642 is very interesting, and may be published hereafter. The chief tenant in 1642, after the Tutor, appears to have been John Cameron, the well-known "Bodach" of Erracht—of whom, Sliochd Ian-a-Voddich.

Here is the rent roll of Glen Luie and Loch Arkaig, Moy:—Duncan mac Ian vic Ewen, John mac Ewen vic Ian, Donald Mac Ian, John Macphail, Ewen Mac Ian oig, John mac Gillie challum, John oig mac Ewen vic Ian, and John Combie, Two hundred and forty pounds Scots money, silver rent; 20 bolls of meal and twenty merks for the presents, each of them for their own parts of the said rent of Moy. Strone—Dugall Cameron of Strone, for Strone, Achachera, and Kinloch-Arkaig, 200 merks silver tack duty. Barr—Alexander Cameron, Allan mac Ewen vic Harlich, and John Ban mac Lauchlan, 360 merks silver rent, 3 quarts butter, 3 stones cheese, one sheep, two veals, each of them for their own part of the rent of Barr. Inners—Killivullin—Alex. mac Ewen vic Neil, and William mac William, 133, 6, 8, Scots of silver rent, 2½ stones cheese, 2 quarts and 1 pint butter, one sheep, one veal, one kid, and one lamb of presents, each for their own parts. Mursherlich, and Auchinellan—Dugall Cameron, John mac Coul-vic-Coil-Donald Mor, and Donald mac Ian vic Ian mor, 200 merks silver rent, 3 stones cheese, 3 quarts butter, 2 sheep and 2 veals of presents, each of them for their own parts of the said lands.

Erracht and Glenmalzie—John Cameron of Erracht, 140

merks Scots money, of superplus duty; 2 stones cheese, and 2 quarts butter of presents conform to his wadsett. The mill of Erracht, the said John Cameron 50 merks superplus duty.

Invermailzie—Ewan Mac Gillichallum, William Mackay, Angus Mac Ewen Roy, and William Mac Innish, 100 merks Scots silver rent, one stone cheese, one quart butter, one sheep, one veal, and one kid, each of them for their own parts of said lands of Invermailzie.

Keilliross—Duncan Mac Ian vic Ian Mor, Ewan Mac Coil Van, John Mac Coil Van, Duncan Mac Kiermod, and Allan Cameron, piper, 80 merks Scots money silver rent, one stone cheese, one quart butter, one sheep, and one kid each for their own part of said lands of Keilliross, Clunes, and Glendessarie; Duncan Cameron, tacksman, 200 merks Scots silver duty, five stones cheese, five quarts butter, two sheep, two veals, one kid, and one lamb of presents.

Sallachan—Duncan Mac Ian Roy, Allan Mac Coil vic Combie, and John Mac Allan vic William, forty pounds Scots money, one quart butter, one stone cheese, one sheep, one veal, and one kid of presents, each of them for their own part of said lands of Sallachan.

Muick—John MacCoil van, *alias* Macphee, forty-five merks Scots money of silver rent, one stone cheese, one quart butter, one sheep, one veal, and one fodd Redd of presents for Muick.

Kenavoir—John MacAllister vic Coil, Allan Mac Allan vic William, and Duncan Mac Coil Roy, fifty merks Scots money silver rent, each of them for their own part of said lands.

Keanich—Alexander Mac Ian vic Combie, John Mac Combie Mor, John Mac Ian vic Combie, and Mac Combie vic Ian Dhu, ninety merks Scots money of silver rent, one quart butter, one stone cheese, and one sheep of presents each for his own share and part of said lands.

Muirlagan—Archibald Mac Ewen vic Ian, Duncan Mac Ewen vic Ian, and Ewen Mac Angus Van, 180 merks of silver rent, etc., for presents. Glendessarie—John Cameron, *alias* McPhee, of Glendessarie. Wadsetter thereof 140 merks of superplus duty, 1 gallon of butter, 4 dozen of cheese, 2 sheep, 2 lambs, 2 veals, 2 kids, with another quart butter and 1 dozen

cheeses and 2 merks Scots as a proportional part of the few duties payable by him to the said Duke as superior of the said lands conform to his waddset right thereof.

Glenpean Beg and Lagganfearn—Dougall Cameron wadsetter thereof, 220 merks Scots money as superplus duty, 10 stones cheese, 10 stones butter, 3 wedders, 3 veals, 2 kids, and 2 lambs, conform to his wadset right thereof.

The following, from the newspapers of the day, when the forfeited estates were restored, is curious, and shows the classics were well established in Lochaber. It bears to be an extract from a letter, dated Fort-William, August 24th, 1784:—"Yesterday there was a numerous meeting of the family of Lochiel, on the joyful news of the forfeited estates being restored. It was proposed that, to testify their gratitude to His Majesty, and to commemorate so generous an action, the family should unite to contribute towards erecting a pillar on the top of Ben-Nevis (the highest hill in the country), with suitable inscriptions in Gaelic, Latin, and English. That each family should have a small pillar (with the arms of the family) erected round the large one. One gentleman suggested the following lines, from the first Eclogue of Virgil, for an inscription on the large pillar:—

"O, Dundassie ! Deus nobis haec otia fecit,
Namque erit ille mihi, semper Deus illius aram :
Saepe tener nostris ab oribus imbuit Agnus ;
Ille meas errare boves ut cernes, et ipsum
Ludere quae vellem Calarno permissi Agresti."

C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH.



GAELIC ALMANACK FOR SEPTEMBER, 1886.

IX. Mhios.]

SULTUINE, 1886.

MUTHADH AN T-SOLUIS.

D AN CIAD CHR.—5 LA—7.56 M.

C AN CR. MU DHEIR.—21 LA—5.56 M.

O AN SOLUS LAN—13 LA—10.50 M.

● AN SOLUS UR—27 LA—0.19 F.

M. DI.			A'ghr'an. E. Eirigh L. Laidh.	An Lan An Lìte.		An Lan An Grianaig.	
				MAD.	FRASO.	MAD.	FRASO.
				U. M.	U. M.	U. M.	U. M.
1	C	Latha Thippermuir, 1644	5.18 E	4.11	4.33	1.52	2.13
2	D	Sgaol Arm nan Ceannaich, 1858	7. 6 L	4.35	5.18	2.34	2.55
3	H	Bàs Chromwell, 1658	5.22 E	5.41	6. 4	3.16	3.36
4	S	Bàs Iarla Lennox, 1571	7. 0 L	6.28	6.53	3.57	4.20
5	D	XII. <i>Donaich na dèigh na Caingis</i>	5.26 E	7.20	7.51	4.44	5. 9
6	L	Eirigh Rìgh Seumas VII., 1688	6.55 L	8.25	9. 4	5.39	6.14
7	M	Bàs Shir Ghilliendras Halliday, 1839	5.30 E	9.45	10.23	6.51	7.31
8	C	Glacadh Shebastopol, 1855	6.50 L	11. 0	11.35	8.10	8.49
9	D	Latha Fhlodden, 1513	5.33 E	...	0. 8	9.24	9.55
10	H	Breith Mhungan Pàirce, 1771	6.45 L	0.35	0.57	10.20	10.44
11	S	Latha Chamus-Choinnich, 1297	5.38 E	1.18	1.38	11. 5	11.25
12	D	XIII. <i>Donaich an dèigh na Caingis</i>	6.39 L	1.56	2.13	11.44	...
13	L	Latha Philiphaugh, 1645	5.41 E	2.29	2.44	0. 1	0.18
14	M	Féill an Ròid	6.34 L	2.59	3.13	0.35	0.51
15	C	Toirt a stigh a' Chunntais ùir, 1752	5.45 E	3.28	3.43	1. 7	1.23
16	D	Bàs Rìgh Séumas VII., 1701	6.29 L	3.59	4.15	1.39	1.55
17	H	Seisdeadh Dhunéideann, 1745	5.49 E	4.31	4.47	2.10	2.25
18	S	Séisdeadh Pharis, 1870	6.24 L	5. 3	5.22	2.42	2.59
19	D	XIV. <i>Donaich an dèigh na Caingis</i>	5.53 E	5.42	6. 2	3.16	3.33
20	L	Latha Alma, 1854	6.19 L	6.25	6.50	3.53	4.17
21	M	Bàs Shir Walter Scott, 1832; Latha Phrestonpans, 1745	5.57 E	7.20	7.55	4.43	5.12
22	C	Breith Iain Home, 1722	6.13 L	8.34	9.17	5.46	6.28
23	D	An Fhéill Eòrainn	6. 1 E	10. 1	10.41	7. 7	7.50
24	H		6. 8 L	11.18	11.53	8.32	9. 9
25	S	Glacadh Lucknow, 1857	6. 5 E	...	0. 22	9.43	10.13
26	D	XV. <i>Donaich an dèigh na Caingis</i>	6. 2 L	0.48	1. 13	10.39	11. 5
27	L	Bàs Shéumais Fhaolain, 1852	6. 8 E	1.37	2. 0	11.31	11.55
28	M	Bàs Dheòrsa Bhuchannain, 1582	5.57 L	2.23	2.44	...	0.19
29	C	An Fhéill Michell	6.12 E	3. 5	3.26	0.42	1. 5
30	D	Breith Uilleim Chuimein, 1715	5.52 L	3.47	4. 8	1.28	1.49